

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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O P 302341Z OCT 73 ZFF4

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 629

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 4322

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN PFOR KS

SUBJ: KOREAN IN 28TH GA: RECOMMENDATION FOR CHANGE IN TACTICS.

REF: A. SEOUL 7219

B. USUN 3526

SUMMARY: CONSISTENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KIN'S TALK WITH AMB HABIB, I AM CONVINCED WE SHOULD NOW PREPARE OURSELVES AND ALLIES FOR CHANGE IN TACTICS ON KOREA QUESTION. SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DELETE OUR MEMBERSHIP PARA AND TO EXPAND SLIGHTLY OUR OPERATIVE PARA CONCERNING FUTURE SC CONSIDERATION OF KOREAN QUESTION. WE MUST CHANGE TACTICS BECAUSE VOTING SITUATION IS INADEQUATE TO ENSURE DEFEAT OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION AT THIS GA. IMPOSSIBILITY OF ENSURING THAT FIRST COMITE VOTES FIRST UPON OUR RESOLUTION IS IMPORTANT FACTOR IN MY CONVICTION THAT WE ARE OBLIGED NOW TO SHIFT GEARS.

ACTION REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION TO CONSULT WITH ALLIES ON CHANGES.

1. KOREA DEBATE IN FIRST COMITE WILL BEGIN IN TWO WEEKS. OUR VOTING ASSESSMENTS SHOW THAT WE ARE IN MORE FAVORABLE POSITION NOW THAN ONE MONTH AGO (REFTEL B) BOTH IN TERMS OF SUPPORT FOR OUR RESOLUTION (MARGIN OF ABOUT 15) AND OPPOSITION TO HOSTILE RESOLUTION (MARGIN FAVOR-  
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ABLE TO US ABOUT 5). BUT THESE MARGINS, PARTICULARLY ON HOSTILE RESOLUTION, ARE RISKY, SUBJECT TO LAST MINUTE SHIFTS AND INSUFFICIENT TO GUARANTEE WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR PRIMARY GOAL: DEFEAT OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION AT 28TH GA.

2. WITH THESE MARGINS WE COULD BE CONFIDENT OF DEFEATING HOSTILE RESOLUTION ONLY IF WE COULD BE EQUALLY SURE THAT FIRST COMITE WOULD VOTE ON OUR RESOLUTION BEFORE HOSTILE RESOLUTION. WE CANNOT, BECAUSE OF FIRM OPINION OF UN LEGAL COUNSEL STAVROPOULOS, BE SURE OF OBTAINING PRIORITY EVEN IF WE LOBBY RIGOROUSLY FOR IT. IF HOSTILE RESOLUTION IS VOTED UPON FIRST AND APPROVED OUR RESOLUTION WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT RPT NOT BE PUT TO VOTE IN FIRST COMITE. MOREOVER, IF FIRST COMITE ADOPTS HOSTILE RESOLUTION, WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN IN VIEW PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION THAT MIGHT BE CREATED BY THE COMITE'S ACTION THAT WE COULD MOUNT THE BOLCKING THIRD NECESSARY TO DEFEAT HOSTILE RESOLUTION IN PLENARY ASSUMING TWO-THIRDS VOTE (IMPORTANT QUESTION) IS REQUIRED.

3. THIS GA IS CRITICAL FOR UN RELATIONSHIP TO KOREA ISSUE. IN CONTEXT OF 135-MEMBER GA, WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY FINALLY TO GET KOREA OFF US AND ROK HANDS BY DISSOLVING UNCURK AND EXPLICITLY PLACING FUTURE OF UNC SOLELY IN HANDS OF SECURITY COUNCIL, WHICH WE CAN USE AS FRAMEWORK FOR PRESERVING CONTINUED ACCEPTANCE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND DISPOSITION OF UNC.

4. DESIRE TO AVOID CONFRONTATION ON KOREA ISSUE IS WIDESPREAD AND IS SHARED BY NUMBER OF COSPONSORS OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION. WE CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS MOOD TO DISPOSE CONSTRUCTIVELY OF KOREA AS GA ISSUE WHILE PRESERVING ESSENTIAL US INTERESTS.

5. I AM CONVINCED THAT WE RISK FACING FIRST COMITE ADOPTION OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION UNLESS WE SHIFT OUR TACTICS. FIRST, WE MUST DECIDE IN PRINCIPLE THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING TO DROP OUR OPERATIVE PARA THREE ON MEMBERSHIP. SECOND, WE MUST DECIDE WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE REFLECTING OUR WILLINGNESS TO HAVE SECURITY COUNCIL SEEK ACCEPTABLE MEANS OF ENDING UN ROLE IN KOREA  
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ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENTS. THIS COULD BE REFLECTED BY ADDING AT END OF OPERATIVE PARA FOUR: QUOTE: INCLUDING THE UN COMMAND. UNQUOTE, OR SIMILAR FORMULA.

6. I BELIEVE THAT, IF WE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SUCH CHANGES, WE STAND EXCELLENT CHANCE OF ENSURING THAT GA DOES NOT ADOPT HOSTILE RESOLUTION AND THAT IT DOES ADOPT RESOLUTION WITH WHICH US AND ROK CAN BE SATISFIED. WE ESSENTIALLY HAVE THREE ALTERNATIVES FOR BRINGING THIS ABOUT (A) AMENDMENT OF OUR OWN RESOLUTION; (B) AMENDMENT OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION; (C) NEGOTIATE "MERGER" OF TWO RESOLUTIONS. LAST (D) COURSE MIGHT INVOLVE NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT WITH OPPOSITION (I) TO DROP PARA THREE OF BOTH RESOLUTIONS

(OUR MEMBERSHIP AND HOSTILE PARAS ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES, RESPECTIVELY), AND (II) MERGER OF OUR PARA FOUR WITH HOSTILE RESOLUTION'S PARA TWO (OUR SC AND HOSTILE RESOLUTION PARAS ON UNC-DISSOLUTION).  
DECISION ON WHAT TACTICS TO ADOPT SHOULD BE MADE FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES AND VOTING ASSESSMENTS BASED ON VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE TACTICS.

7. FOREIGN MINISTER KIM HAS STATED TO AMB HABIB THAT HE IS PREPARED TO TAKE CRUCIAL STEP OF DROPPING MEMBERSHIP PARA. KOREAN MISSION STAFF HERE, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, HAS INDICATED THEY HAVE BEEN THINKING ALONG SAME LINES AND NOW FEEL WE MUST MOVE. IN PAST TWO DAYS UK AND JAPANESE HAVE PRESSED US HARD ON POSSIBLE CHANGES.  
(SAITO SOUGHT OUT BENNETT TODAY FOR FORTY-MINUTE DISCUSSION)

8. I AM CONVINCED THAT WE SHOULD BEGIN CONSULTATIONS IMMEDIATELY HERE WITH ROK AND KEY ALLIES ON CHANGE IN TACTICS. THESE CONSULTATIONS MUST BE PROMPT AND THEY MUST BE FRANK. IF WE DO NOT BEGIN NOW TO DISCUSS CHANGES, WE MAY FIND OTHERS, INCLUDING AMONG MANY NON-COSPONSORS WHO ARE ANXIOUS FOR COMPROMISE, PRE-EMPTING US AND THUS THREATENING US WITH LOSS OF CONTROL.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: AUTHORIZATION TO BEGIN CONSULTATIONS ON CHANGE IN TACTICS WITH MEMBERS OF KOREA WORKING GROUP.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 11 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETING AGENDA, VOTING, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, MEETINGS, UNGA RESOLUTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 30 OCT 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973USUNN04322  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** P750018-0591  
**From:** USUN NY  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19731067/abqcelef.tel  
**Line Count:** 138  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** A. SEOUL 7219 B. USUN 3526  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 OCT 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16-Oct-2001 by smithjr>; APPROVED <07 MAR 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** KOREAN IN 28TH GA: RECOMMENDATION FOR CHANGE IN TACTICS.  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PEPR, PORG, KS, UNGA  
**To:** STATE INFO SEOUL  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005